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JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION

the Afro-Asian Journalist

Page

1. Be an instrument of revolution 6
2. PAJU pledges to liberate Africa 15
3. We gain nothing by twisting truth 16
4. An international Counterforce necessary 19
5. S. Vietnam people's forces strengthen 21
6. Journalist : His role in a free country 23

1
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1964

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editorial

the Afro-Asian Journalist

OUR AIM

By
Djawoto
Secretary-General
A.A.J.A.

THE publication of "The Afro-Asian Journalist" is the implementation of one of the decisions adopted by the First Asian-African Journalists' Conference and the Second Secretariat Meeting of the A.A.J.A., last year.

"The Afro-Asian Journalist" commences its publication at a time when the struggle waged by mankind the world over to create a peaceful new world that is free from colonialist and imperialist exploitation is more and more concentrated in the struggle of peoples, who have not attained or newly achieved their independence, to bring forth complete national independence for their countries, which is an absolute pre-condition for the establishment of world peace, and also at a time when the imperialist and colonialist forces are intensifying their frenzied efforts to recover or maintain or strengthen their domination over other nations.

In the vortex of this increasingly turbulent struggle, all media of mass communication have assumed an unprecedented significance, and it depends on the forces behind them whether to use such media according to their respective interests to assist in the development of human history towards the establishment of a new world or to try to block its triumphant march. In this context, journalists are occupying an important place and confronted with the challenge of history to take sides.

National journalists' organisations and progressive journalists united in the Asian-African Journalists' Association have taken a firm stand dictated by their conscience, and have taken sides in this world-wide conflict by the formation of the basis, the aim and the direction of their struggle as outlined in the Djakarta Declaration and the A.A.J.A. Constitution. In this context, the A.A.J.A. welcomes and even seeks the co-operation of all progressive forces in the world for the attainment of common ideals.

"The Afro-Asian Journalist" is meant to become another medium, not only to promote the development of the organisation publishing it, that is the A.A.J.A., but also, in a wider aim, to foster the spirit of solidarity among progressive journalists in their efforts to use such media of mass communication to serve in the struggle of the peoples, to promote the great Bandung elan and to cultivate the spirit of everlasting co-operation.

"The Afro-Asian Journalist" is meant to increase our knowledge about each other and to exchange information about the typical characteristics of the struggle waged by the people and the fighting journalists in their respective countries or territories as well as about the background of each such struggle.

This journal will, also, be used to describe in detail the attempts of the imperialists and colonialists to regain or maintain or consolidate their domination of these countries and territories by resorting to open aggression or through intervention and subversion, by using or demonstrating their physical strength, by blackmail or through persuasion, giving bribes or creating dissensions, by instigating counter-revolutions and sabotage activities.

This journal certainly can, also, be used to expose those groups of people, who are willing to serve as the tools of imperialists and colonialists and those, who, by various ways and means, try to sabotage development towards progress. We can make this a forum for exchanging information about the forces of fighting peoples and the methods by which those forces can be welded together, nationally, regionally or internationally. In all such information, an explanation of their background, politically, economically, socially and culturally, is of the greatest importance.

Our sincere wish is that "The Afro-Asian Journalist" will be of great service to us, all, to enable us to draw lessons from our mistakes and to consolidate further all successes that we have achieved.

ONWARD, NO RETREAT!

'Let us transform the world'

I am very glad to learn that the Asian-African journalists, besides continuing their own publications, have now commenced publishing a collective bulletin, "The Afro-Asian Journalist".

As I have stated in my opening address at the first Asian-African Journalists' Conference, I hope that the Asian-African Press will become an instrument of the Revolution of Mankind that is transforming the world, that is destroying the old order built on domination and oppression, that is building the world anew, ensuring true national independence, social justice and abiding peace.

Let us transform the world!

Let us make the Second "Bandung" Conference a success!!

Soekarno.—

SUKARNO.
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA.

DJAKARTA, FEBRUARY 18th, 1964.

THEY WISH US SUCCESS

Hearty congratulations on the inauguration of "The Afro-Asian Journalist" of the journalists of Asia and Africa.

Asian and African journalists are the eyes, ears and mouthpiece of the peoples of Asian and African countries. The first Asian-African Journalissts' Conference held in Djakarta in April, 1963, marked the unity of the Asian and African journalists based on the common struggle against imperialism and old and new colonialism.

May Asian and African journalists hold aloft the banner of the "Djakarta Declaration", continue to develop the Bandung Spirit and make still greater contributions to the common cause of unity and anti-imperialism of the Asian and African people.

Chou En-lai

Members of your noble profession have a vital part to play in educating and forming public opinion in countries new-born to freedom and in spearheading the struggle to liberate brother peoples still deprived of national independence and basic liberties.

May this magazine serve to promote a greater sense of fraternity, solidarity and common purpose among Afro-Asian journalists everywhere and fulfil the high expectations aroused by this first issue.

Norodom Sihanouk

On behalf of the Algerian people as well as on my own behalf, I would like to express to you our gladness and our pride to receive in our liberated territory the Second Asian-African Journalists' Conference to be held in April, 1965.

This conference will herald, according to my conviction, the end of colonialism in the world. It will enable all journalists from Asia and Africa to study together the means of expressing the political, economic and social reality of our two continents, which have suffered, and continue to suffer still, from colonial domination.

On the occasion of the publication of the first issue of your bulletin, I would personally like to encourage you in your and our mission, and to salute through you all Asian-African journalists.

Ben Bella

Picture above: The Presidium of the April conference (top) and a general view of the conference in session (below).

Representatives of Soviet Union, Cuba, I.O.J., Pan African Journalists' Union, The Asian-African Peoples' Solidarity Organization participated as observers.

The opening address was delivered by His Excellency President Sukarno.

THE APRIL

His Excellency Ali Sastroamidjojo and Dr. Roeslan Abdoelgani, Deputy First Minister and Minister of Information, also addressed the Conference.

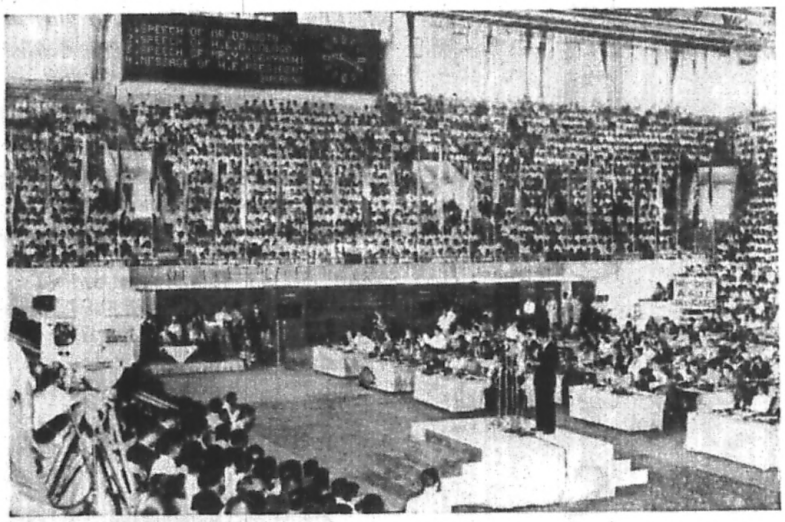
Mr. M. El B. Gologo (Mali) and Mr. Y. Kobayashi (Japan) spoke on behalf of Africa and Asia respectively.

Messages of congratulations were received from President Ho Chi Minh of the Democratic Republic

The Preparatory Conference of the Asian and African journalists, attended by delegates from 14 countries, Burma, Ceylon, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Ghana, Indonesia, Japan, North Korea, Lebanon, Pakistan, People's Republic of China, South Africa, Tanganyika, United Arab Republic and Mali, was held in Djakarta, Indonesia, from February 10th to 15th, 1963.

The main conference was opened in Djakarta on April 24th, 1963, (the 8th anniversary of the Bandung Conference) and was closed in Bandung in the MPRS-Building on May 1st, 1963 (West Irian Liberation Day).

Delegates from 47 countries participated at the Conference. They are Algeria, Angola, Basutoland, Burma, Ceylon, Cambodia, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Democratic Republic of Korea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Portuguese Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Iran, Japan, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Lebanon, Malaya, Mali, Mongolia, Madagascar, Morocco, South Vietnam (National Liberation Front) Nepal, North Kalimantan, Northern Rhodesia, Pakistan, People's Republic of China, Phillippines, Sierra Leone, Somali, Sudan, South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Southwest Africa, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia, Turkey, Zanzibar, Cameroon, Uganda, Niger and Republic of Guinea.



The Secretary-General, Mr. Djawoto, making his speech at the opening of the conference at the Sports Hall, Senajan, Djakarta (above). Picture below shows two delegates signing the Djakarta Declaration of the Afro-Asian journalis at the MPRS-building in Bandung.

of Vietnam, Emperor Haille Selassie I of Ethiopia, Prime Minister of Ceylon, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of India, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Korea, Mr. Kim Il Sung, Prime Minister of Somali, Mr. Sharmake, President of the Supreme Council for the Armed Forces of Sudan, Mr. F. I. Aboud, President of Tanganyika, Mr. J. K. Nyerere, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Chou En-lai, President Macapagal of the

CONFERENCE

Philippines, President of the Council of Ministers of Laos, Prince S. Phouma, Head of the State of Cambodia, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and Minister of Information of Guinea, Alassane Diep.

Some serious issue ..... and both put up their hands, but the Chairman said only one could speak at a time.

The Presidium was composed of Indonesia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Mali, People's Republic of China, Japan, Korea, Niger, Angola, Syria, South Africa, Burma, North Kalimantan, Pakistan, Tanganyika, Ceylon and the United Arab Republic (absent due to general elections in the country).

Decisions

The Djakarta Declaration was signed at the MPRS-Building in Bandung by heads of the delegations, except the leader of the Indian delegation, who, later, in the reception at Solo on May 8th, officially supported and declared his willingness to sign it.

The conference unanimously decided to set up a Secretariat of the Asian-African Journalists' Association with headquarters in Djakarta, composed of a Secretary-General (Indonesia) and 10 secretaries, five from Asia (Japan, People's Republic of China, Ceylon, Pakistan, and Syria) and five from Africa (Algeria, Tanganyika, Mali, Rhodesia and South Africa).

The Conference discussed at length the ways and means of fighting imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and the role of the journalists in this struggle, ways and means of assisting the countries, which, at present, are striving to gain independence and peace, ways and means of defending the sovereignty of the already independent states and ways and means of improving the working conditions of the Afro-Asian Journalist.

In all, 33 resolutions were passed dealing with these subjects.

Above : Bung Karno leading the dance after a reception held in honour of the delegates at Bogor Palace.
Below : The Secretary-General did not fail to make personal contacts with every delegate to the conference. He is seen here with the delegate from Ghana.

President Sukarno in his opening address at the conference tells the Press—

BE AN INSTRUMENT OF REVOLUTION

"The Conference of Asian-African Journalists that opens here today is a continuation of the Asian-African Conference of 1955. That Conference established our solidarity and created a climate within which our struggle can expand.

"The elimination of the physical occupation by the colonialists is just the first stage of national independence in this age. We must go further and eliminate all kinds of exploitation, direct or indirect, mental or material. It is for this reason that we may not think that we are a *nation arrivee* when the colonial administration has been replaced by the installation of national administration. The same elan, the same determination, the same revolutionary spirit, the same solidarity of the Asian-African nations, are still needed if we really want to make further progress, if we want even to prevent the return of colonialism-imperialism under another cloak.

"Our national struggles are but part of another struggle — the mighty Revolution of Mankind. The Revolution of Mankind ! The Revolution that grows from Man's deepest conscience, the Revolution that feeds from the social consciousness of men and women everywhere under the sky, the Revolution that expands with the extension of national independence and the contraction of colonialism and imperialism, the Revolution that struggles for abiding peace and social justice, the Revolution that sweeps the world !

"But let us remember that in this twentieth century, abiding peace means more than the apparent absence of war. Until national independence is world-wide, until the practice of social justice is general, both within and among nations, disarmament agreements cannot ensure peace for long. Thus, the great movement for world peace runs parallel to the struggle for independence and the cry for social justice.

"We admit that there are nations which have achieved independence without struggle, without bloodshed, without warfare. But let us be aware that they have achieved their independence because of the fierce struggles, because of the great sacrifices of their fellow human beings and their brother nations. Without these struggles and without these sacrifices, independence for these countries would have remained a dream for centuries without end.

"There is a comment, I feel, should be made with regard to the Asian-African setting of our press. Should that press, with its different setting, take over holus-bolus the customs and the ways of the older press of the advanced countries ? Just as Western liberal democracy has equal opportunity for all — literate and illiterate, rich and poor, clever and stupid, alike — so too with what they call "Freedom of the Press". There is freedom for it to be dominated by the ruling few within the nation, although they say the press reflects "public opinion" or the mind of the ordinary man ; there is freedom for the press to be dominated by the ruling few nations, and then they propound the hypothesis that this press reflects "world opinion", the ideas of mankind.

"Who is it that has shown himself to have seen the course of history ? Who is it that has been proved to understand the dynamism of our times ? Who is it that has been shown to have correctly understood the dialectics of the revolution now sweeping mankind ? It is not the politicians, the statesmen the press of the advanced countries. It has been us, we the "backward" peoples of the "undeveloped" countries. We have shown that we know where the world is going ! We are not inhibited by the past, we are not shackled by an outlook whose field of vision is that of the old power-dominated world, and we must be prepared to contribute our ideas, our thoughts, our concepts to the progress of humanity. "Our national movements would not have been what they were without that valiant national press.

"I should like to see the Asian-African press becomes an effective instrument of the struggle of the Asian-African peoples to obtain full national independence. Let the press struggle, strive, and work itself to the bone, to ensure that national independence is no mere convention, no hollow lip-service freedom, but that national independence incorporates the Freedom to be Free, the right to choose the ideas and structures that suit each nation best.

"And let our Asian-African press truly reflect the cry for social justice, the cry for abiding peace that dwells deep in the hearts of all men, welling up out of their sufferings.

"Perhaps even more ardently than this, I hope that the Asian-African press will become an instrument of the Revolution of Mankind that is transforming the world, that is destroying the old order built on domination and oppression, that is building the world anew, ensuring true national independence, social justice and abiding peace."

USE JUST METHODS, ADVISES MINISTER

(Extract of address delevered by Dr. R. Abdoelgani, Minister of Information)

"It is obvious that the first point of the Djakarta declaration of the Afro-Asian journalists deals with the dedication of journalists to the continued anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle. We are well conscious of the continuing dangers of colonialism, in spite of the fact that nation after nation is winning independence.

"Speaking of this factor two months ago, I mentioned the historical roots. Western Europe and Asia-Africa have been antithetical over this question of colonialism and imperialism, and will remain so as long as the West continues to subject us to, or to try to subject us to, colonialist and imperialist attitudes or treatment.

"The success of the First Asian-African Conference of 1955 was the recognition of the differences between us, erasing of our diversities and the strengthening of the solidarity between us. The journalists must understand all the more clearly what binds us together, what the well-spring of our solidarity is and what principles we jointly uphold.

"It seems to me that our fight against colonialism and imperialism is just and noble. Therefore, our Press should use just and noble methods, not slanders, not indignities, not trickery, in this fight."

Delegates: fight common enemy

(Extracts of speeches of delegates at the main conference)

ALGERIA

(Bendimred Djamil)

"For us, to whom the Press has established itself on the battlefield, the journalists have a vocation and a mission. They have a positive and constructive role in educating the masses, for, as Mr. Djawoto, chairman of the National Preparatory Committee of the Conference, has affirmed in his speech, politics is inseparable from journalism.

"Imperialism, colonialism and capitalism are afraid to remove their masks. They have always been ashamed of themselves.

"For us, the avant-garde journalist has to fulfil his role to the end. He is not ashamed of the ideal that he defends; he is proud of it and fights for its triumph. The avant-garde journalist must fully participate in the edification of the nation, in the fight against the sequels of colonialism, that are not only material, but also spiritual, in the fight against exploitation of man by man".

ANGOLA

(V. Cruz)

"Confronted with the irresistible upsurge of liberation and revolutionary movements of the Asian and African peoples, colonialism and imperialism are forced to retreat more and more. All our victories have demonstrated that imperialism is weaker than an aroused nation, which is united, vigilant and determined to fight, if necessary, with the force of arms.

"Even if some difficulties are confronting us in our battles, our nation will never lay down its arms. Our nation has courageously taken the only way out left by the Portuguese, that is, an armed struggle.

"The imperialists fear the noble and just objective that we are going to reach, and they will undoubtedly do their best to frustrate our plans."

BASUTOLAND

(Qhobela M. Molapo)

"The continent of Africa is still locked in a mortal combat with the hostile forces of colonial domination. Thousands of defenceless people are still slaughtered by the trigger-happy imperialist cut-throats of the discredited North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. Flimsy excuses are put forward to justify imperialist domination and to deny our people their birthright of democratic justice and national independence. Millions of dollars are poured into several Afro-Asian countries to fan the flames of racial hatred and to promote civil and international conflicts.

"The responsibility of inspiring the courageous forces of freedom in dependent African countries falls immediately on the shoulders of all the Afro-Asian journalists gathered here today."

BURMA

(U Hla)

"We Afro-Asian peoples have fought, and are fighting, unceasingly for national independence. We have won, and are winning, victories. In the struggle for independence most of the journalists are always in the front line. Many have fallen in the same way as gallant warriors. Those who do not fall, continue the struggle for independence, peace and welfare of the people. This is the mission of the journalists and we shall keep that tradition for all time.

"..... you all know very well what the nature of imperialism and colonialism is. Unless we are brave enough, united enough, strong enough and wise enough we will

not be able to fight and defeat them and gain freedom, justice and peace".

CAMEROON

(Feze Marcel)

"It is only natural that the Asian and African people unite and support each other because their tasks and their enemies are the same.

"Neo-colonialism is, indeed, the greatest danger. It is threatening the fundamental aspirations of the Asian-African peoples for complete liberation of their lands. The United States, the principal instrument of neo-colonialism, follows a policy of aggression and expansion in Asia and Africa.

"Under the cloak of the UNO, the United States has choked the movement for national liberation and independence of the Congolese people, assassinated Patrice Lumumba, imprisoned Gizenga and settled in Congo as its masters."

CAMBODIA

(Hu Nim)

"You all know what Bandung represents in the eyes of the Asian-African pooples. It was in Bandung that the lofty principles like the respect for fundamental human rights, the sovereignty and integrity of all nations, the recognition of equality among all races and all nations, small and big, non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, were solomnly proclaimeid.

"It is now up to us, journalists, to apply these principles within the field of our competence. As Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Head of the State of Cambodia, so aptly remarked in his message to this conference, we have a great and honourable part in disseminating the ideas we have in common about defending independence and human dignity, in making known our progress and our hopes, in fighting injustice and scorn, which the imperialist press systematically assumes towards the "Tiers-Monde".

CEYLON

(A. Pathiraja)

Ceylon Journalists' Association

"We, the journalists of Afro-Asia, are bound by fraternal ties to render assistance, not only through our profession, but also in any other way we are called upon to do so, to the struggle certain countries are carrying on today to free themselves from the shackles of imperialism.

"It is, also, a duty cast upon us to assist the people of our countries that are already free and independent to crush and prevent the treacherous and shameless intrigues of the imperialists or the colonialists, who had held sway in them and are now trying to re-establish themselves in various guises.

"We, as journalists, mainly as journalists of Asia and Africa, face certain important problems in our professional activities. We need a completely independent national Press. We need the creation of true freedom of the Press instead of the fake freedom, which is the freedom of the monopolists. But, we must not forget the fact that the present corruption in the field of journalism cannot be wiped out without removing the deep-rooted and dangerous obstacle to the growth of true journalism — the influence of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism".

CHINA

(Mei Yi)

"The Asian and African peoples' primary and most important task at present is to oppose imperialism and colonialism, old and new.

"Our struggle is an arduous one, but our future is boundlessly bright. New emerging forces are stronger than the decadent forces. In spite of the fact that imperialism is still ferociously doing evil deeds everywhere, it cannot hide the basic fact that it is powerful only in appearance and weak in substance. It is decadent and doomed for the grave and there is nothing fearful about it.

"So long as we despise them and carry out a firm struggle against them, we will certainly be able to defeat them thoroughly. The national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America will certainly achieve complete victory and the day will come when the rule of imperialism and colonialism will come to an end.

"At such a significant and historic moment, we, Asian and African journalists, have to shoulder a responsibility that is extremely important. We should make full use of our means of propaganda. We must ruthlessly expose the crimes of the colonial system and all the treacherous plots of the old and new colinialists and give strong support to the struggle for national independence and liberation of the oppressed peoples.

"In short, we should intensify our struggle against imperialism and colonialism, old and new, help the Asian and African peoples to distinguish clearly between right and wrong, heighten their vigilance and strengthen their militant will in order to advance the anti-imperialist struggle of the Asian and African peoples for the complete elimination of imperialism and colonialism within the shortest period possible.

"The peoples of Asia and Africa have been for long under the aggression of imperialism, suffering untold miseries from the disasters of wars. Therefore, all of us are concerned with the question of safeguarding world peace. We wish to relax international tension and to realise the peaceful co-existence of countries of different social systems on the basis of the Ten Bandung Principles and the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence.

"Some people give verbal support to the national liberation movements, but, under the guise of safeguarding peace, insist on placing it in opposition to the movement of the peoples of the world in defence of peace. They say a tiny spark can cause a world conflagration, but their aim is simply to tie the hands of the oppressed nations opposing imperialism and colonialism. They ask people not to take up arms even to resist the armed suppression of the imperialists.

"We firmly oppose embellishing imperialism, US imperialism in particular, and asking people to believe in the 'goodness' and 'promises' of the imperialists. We oppose the creating of illusions and fear for the imperialists in the minds of the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America."

GHANA

(Kofi Batsa)

"We are participating in this conference because we accept the view that Afro-Asian journalists have got a vital role to play, both in the struggle to rid Africa and Asia of imperialism and in the struggle for the consolidation of the hard-won independence of some of the countries of Africa and Asia.

"Whatever role it is made to play, the Press is one of the most formidable instruments in the liberation movement of Africa and Asia. One fact stands out: the Press can be a curse or a blessing, the break on or the spur to progress. If the Press misleads, it can give way to inimical ideologies. If it lacks an ideology, it will be forced to find the equivalent of one. And its find is bound to lead it to seek an ally as powerful as the one it is supposed to fight.

"Some of the western countries want us to ape them blindly forgetting that our circumstances are entirely different from theirs. They want us to adopt the so-called democracy in which they have consistently shown that Africans and Asians have no place. They expect us to behave like them in the face of their records in Kenya, 'Portuguese' Guinea, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, South Africa and South-West Africa.

"We of the Afro-Asian press have got a common enemy — imperialism, in all its manifestations. It is this enemy, which we, with a united voice, should fight relentlessly".

GUINEA

(Osse Fode)

"..... this conference represents once more a real ray of hope and its holding should leave its mark on the history of Asian African people in their constant struggle against misery, exploitation and under-development.

"For our battle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, the press of the state that we represent in this conference should find a new way through powerful means of information and propaganda."

ETHIOPIA

(Ayalew Giorgis)

"We journalists of Africa and Asia can bring about a better world — a world without exploitation and a world of equals, a world of prosperity and happiness to all. With firmness in our action, we can successfully fight against all injustices, discriminations and inequalities.

"Through unfounded and subversive propaganda, distortion of facts and plans, and even by ridiculing culture and way of life, the colonialists continue to wage a war against people of Africa and Asia in the economic and other spheres of interests".

INDIA

(A.C. Banerjee)

"After the Bandung conference many good things have happened. More new nations have come into being, both in Africa and Asia, during these eight years. They are now free from the yoke of imperialism and colonialism.

"..... we will continue to espouse the cause of the peoples who are struggling for freedom. We will not hesitate to stand against any threat to the integrity and sovereignty of any country."

IRAN

(Behrouz Jahangir)

"The misunderstandings and disputes amongst the Afro-Asian community of nations may take different forms or shapes — political, ideological or geographical — but the effects is the same. They hurt Afro-Asian solidarity. The press here has a most delicate duty. Instead of fanning the differences, the press should adopt a wise logical attitude and lead public opinion towards the peaceful solution of the disputes. By adding fuel to such fires, one can never hope to attain the lofty objectives of the Bandung Conference.

"As far as this conference is concerned, a point we should bear in mind is the need to avoid any type or form of factions or grouping within the conference. We must remind ourselves that the aim of this conference is not to advance the policies of this or that Government; that we have gathered here for higher and loftier aims to prepare for greater co-operation and to deliberate and exchange views about such co-operation.

"The question of how the Afro-Asian press can play a more effective part in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism calls for certain arrangements and closer co-operation, none of which exists now. If they are to succeed in this aim, they must enjoy two basic freedoms, (1) the freedom of expression and (2) the freedom from want. In other words, they must not only be free to express their opinions, but they must, also, be financially independent."

IRAQ

(Hamid Al Juburi)

"The Arab revolution has also a strong desire to strengthen the principles of socialism, for it believes that exploitation of man by man in the economic field must never exist in this modern world. It also has a strong will to increase respect towards democracy and to ensure happiness of the people in the course of their difficult times. The Arab people are now standing firm in their position .....

"We have struggled against the strong power of Uthmaniah; we have fought the British, French, Italian, Dutch, Spanish and American imperialists, and until now, a part of our country is still fighting for freedom and independence and counts on the help of each country that loves freedom."

JAPAN

(Y. Kobayashi)

"Through their struggles, the Japanese people and journalists are clearly recognising their real enemy and are expanding their fronts. Further, there is a growing recognition among them that our struggle for real independence, peace and democracy is inseparable from that of the Afro-Asian peoples for liberation and national independence.

"On the other hand, US imperialism and the Japanese reactionary forces are in mortal fear of the advanced political consciousness of the people and their determined, ever increasing struggle against the Security Treaty, and are hell-bent on suppressing the will of the masses.

"In the field of journalism, academic studies and arts, the policy of bribery is being disguised as in-

vitations to the United States in the name of 'friendship' and 'grants' for academic pursuits and artistic activities.

"Almost all the commentaries published in the Japanese Press insist on 'friendship' with the United States, slander China and Soviet Union, attack national liberation movements, interpret the Japanese people's struggle as 'criminal' and try to lull the militancy of the people by honeyed words.

"Our struggle, therefore, is an integral part of the struggle of the Asian and African peoples and journalists against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism for national liberation and independence."

JORDAN

(Odeh Butros Odeh)

"The Arab people, wherever they may find themselves, be it in Jordan, in Saudi Arabia or in any other part of the world, which has not yet been liberated, struggle to achieve their freedom in order to go foward to unity and socialism.

"The Arab people throughout their countries will not cease their revolt until their ideals, freedom, unity and socialism are realised and until the Palestine region, which has been robbed by the international Zionists, is restored to the authority."

Message of
MR. A.M. AZAHARI MAHMUD,
Prime Minister of Kalimantan Utara, read by Hadji M. Manggul.

"Colonialism in any form is never justified because it assumes, as a first principle, the evil doctrine that one group of people is superior to another. Furthermore, it violates the fundamental human rights of the subject people, distorts and perverts personality and ruthlessly exploits their national wealth.

"We got British justice weighed against bullets and bombs; we got Indian Gurkhas and Malayan police and received a bloodbath, which spread, and is still spreading, throughout Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah. We wanted to appeal to the United Nations, but the British colonialists deprived our leaders of their freedom of movement by cancelling their passports. We asked for Indonesian armed volunteers and the British and their Malayan stooges raised hell by threatening massive retaliation. We asked for the help of other Asian and African nations and the imperialists countered that our people's revolution is nothing but a long-range Communist scheme to overrun South East Asia.

"The revolution which is being fought in Kalimantan Utara today is not just a struggle between the British and Malayan partnership and the people of Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah. It is, also, a trial where the principles of the Bandung Conference are in peril; it is a testing ground where the pride and honour of all freedom-loving nations of Asia-Africa are at stake; it is an opportunity for the New Emerging Forces to rally together in defence of an oppressed brother.

"Of late, press reports from Kalimantan Utara have become unreliable. British colonial propaganda has been flooding the three territories and the rest of the world with brazen lies about the actual conditions obtained there. Are you aware of the pitiful conditions of the political prisoners now lodged in the jails of Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah? Have you visited the hospitals where our courageous freedom fighters lie wounded or dying? Do you realise the threats and the physical as well as mental torture perpetrated by the colonialists on our people now? Are you aware of the curfew imposed on them? Are you aware of the curtailment of press freedom in Kalimantan Utara today and the wanton disregard of the Bill of Rights and the Charter of the United Nations?

"Hear our call of distress then, distinguised journalists of Asia and Africa! Do not close your eyes from the sufferings of the people of Kalimantan Utara; do not dismiss the anguished cries of our wounded patriots, of our imprisoned freedom fighters, of our hungry women and children."

KENYA

(Kamwithi Munyi)

"There is an African proverb, which says: 'If you don't expose a campaign of lies, the truth will demolish you'. The forces of imperialism, neo-colonialism and their lackeys, against whom we are heroically fighting, are today, apart from using their oppressive and satanic operations, utilising their destructive machinery of propaganda campaigns, which are spread through their diabolical and corrupt press media.

"If we do not counteract this wicked and monstrous campaigns of imperialism and neo-colonialism, it will not be possible for our struggling people of Africa and Asia to win their final victories against the most vicious and ferocious enemy. We should reinforce our revolutionary forces, which are already in the battlefield, and the best way to do that is to wage resolute, truthful attacks through the African and Asian press media."

KOREA

(Bai Ki Joon)

"The peoples of many Asian and African countries, which had been the objects of ruthless plunder by the imperialists, have cast off the yoke of colonial slavery and won national independence. The colonial system of the imperialists is in the final process of disintegration.

"U.S. imperialism, the chieftain of neo-colonialism, has adopted it as part of its 'basic strategy' to suppress the national emancipation struggle of the oppressed nations and is pursuing its rapacious, aggressive, expansionist policy in Asia and Africa in a most cunning, vicious manner.

"The U.S. imperialists are brazenly disguising themselves as 'anti-colonialists' and talking much about their 'aid' to the underdeveloped countries. But we are well aware through practical experiences what this 'aid' means and what consequences it brings.

"The U.S. imperialists are desperately trying to extend the military fascist terror regime, obstruct the peaceful unification of Korea with terror and massacre, maintain the colonial regime on the brink of ruin and aggravate tension.

"Reality clearly shows that the imperialists, led by the U.S. imperialists, are the most vicious and common enemy of the Asian and African peoples. There can be no national independence, freedom or peace without a common struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

"The activities of us journalists, the guide of public opinion and the reflector of human conscience, cannot be considered apart from the struggle for realising this common historical task before their peoples.

"We Korean journalists regard it our sacred duty to actively support the struggle of the Asian and African peoples and journalists against imperialism and the old and new colonialism, for freedom and independence, national unification and territorial integrity".

KUWAIT

(A.F. Al Fulay)

"We have made war against aggressive Israel, which is nothing but a product of colonialism. Its foundation has been planted on the Palestine soil, which is our property. From this platform the colonialists will start to dominate other regions of our country, and finally they will separate Asia-Africa to tear apart those two continents that are brothers.

"The Arab people's struggle is your struggle, peoples of Asia and Africa ! For, we have already understood each other in fighting imperialism, exploitation and foreign domination, though the pattern of such domination may take different forms.

"Our fighting spirit against colonialism is the same. Our fight against aggressive Israel is also the same, because Israel constitutes a dangerous form of colonialism in our territory. Should this power-building of Israel continue, it is certain that its danger will grasp every country of Asia and Africa. Every form of imperialism, fought by Asian and African peoples with all kinds of sacrifices, is an 'Israel' to them."

LEBANON

(Mohammed Amne Doughan)

"We have come to support and to complete the resolution of the Bandung Conference, which has become the symbol of the fight of the Afro-Asian people for their freedom and independence.

"We journalists have in our own hands a very efficient and powerful weapon. The free word that emanates from a free heart has more power than a nuclear weapon. We possess all means to rouse the human conscience and we are, as President Sukarno has said, the creators of the public opinion."

MADAGASCAR

(Randrianja Rene Anselme)

"In fact, all the most favourable conditions have been brought together by government for the development of the imperialist press. Since June 1962, the monopolised press, called "Le Courier de Madagascar", has been set up in Madagascar with the aid of America, West Germany and Israel.

"The import of progressive publications from all countries, Africa, Asia and Europe is banned.

"The African cultural centres, the Goethe Institute of Federal Germany, the embassies of Taiwan, of France and of Israel are distributing thousands of tons of newspapers, magazines, photos etc. in order to deviate the people of Madagascar from their anti-imperialist struggle".

MALAYA

(Rosedin bin Haji Ya'acob)

"The Malayan journalists are convinced that mere political independence alone is not enough in ensuring the dynamism of the revolution of mankind and, therefore, like their true colleagues in other parts of Asia and Africa, are giving their fullest backing to their leaders' efforts at home and abroad to accelerate the progress of the people through well-planned and implemented economic development.

"We recognise the fact that it is not merely enough to promise 'heaven on earth' to the people, the prime instruments and the vanguard of the 'progressive revolution'. Regimes that go no further will certainly be swept aside."

MALI

(Mamadou Gologo)

"..... We think there can be no peace without liberty. It is, therefore, time that Asia-Africa becomes a reality in the general march of mankind, a powerful lever in the Great Revolution which is transforming it. President Sukarno said that all obstacles to the future progress of humanity should be swept away so that we can sow in Africa, in Asia, in the rest of the world vigorous seeds, bearers of abundant crops.

"It is by the same perspective that we look upon the future of mankind. I stress the fact that one of the most persistent obstacles in the way of mankind is imperialism. Our fight against this plague cannot be separated from the general struggle which is leading all the progressive mankind towards a better existence.

"In the Republic of Mali, our conception of the journalists' role is not different. He has to participate in the struggle of the people for the construction of a fraternal and just society, of a socialist society.

"The Asian-African journalists should actively participate in the work of restoring our cultural heritage, for imperialism has frustrated to the utmost the African and the Asian in their historic existence. I would like you to pay particular attention to this aspect of our action. Our conference should mark our determination not to leave it to others to solve our problems. We want to assert our personality, not only in reaction to colonialism, its instruments, its remnants, but also against all alienations which we resent as deep insult to our dignity."

MONGOLIA

(C. Ochirbat)

"The imperialists, colonialists and neo-colinialists, led by the United States, are now accelerating the armament race and increasing the tension in the international situation more than ever before. They are, also, trying their utmost to break the anti-imperialist united front.

"At this serious moment, it is necessary for us to defend the unity and solidarity of all the forces struggling against the new intentions of the imperialists and against the attempts of the old and new colonialism to enslave the people of the world.

"And we, journalists, whose duty is to express the wishes and

hopes of the people, should be in the forefront of the peoples' struggle against the preparation of a new imperialist war. At the same time, we should, by all possible means, struggle for the liberation of the people from the chains of colonial slavery.

"We are certain that further strengthening of the unity and solidarity of all progressive journalists will undoubtedly be a new blow to the cruel intentions of the imperialists to distrupt the united anti-imperialist world front."

MOROCCO

(Moatassin)

"Our newspaper, which reflects the great ideas of the "Union Nationale des Forces Populaires", is carrying out its last movement. The opposition from the democrats, who have shown their dynamic character in the course of the referendum campaign and who can prove, if necessary, their popular position by the results they have gained at present, constitutes an obstacle for colonialism conspiring with the Moroccan rulers, who should be abolished by us as soon as possible.

"At the same time a colonial press in French such as "le Petit Maroccain" and "la Visie Maroccaine" owned by French trusts called MAS, are spreading day and night news from colonial and private News Agencies and preserving the monopoly of guided reporting, which contradicts the interests of the Moroccan people. It serves the interests of feudal and neo-colonialist rulers. It is precisely this press which unceasingly shows the most savage hostility and hatred towards our struggle for national liberation".

NEPAL

(Pashupati Dev Pandey)

"I find that the duties and principles as laid out in the preamble of the Asian-African Journalists' Association rightly conform to the aspirations of our peoples. Permit me to quote a few lines from the address given by His Majesty King Mahendra of Nepal in the last conference of the non-aligned nations held in Belgrade, Yugoslavia. He said : 'Should we think, at this juncture, that the struggle against colonialism has been completed, we shall be in confusion. In fact we must keep ourselves prepared for a hard and long-term struggle to end imperialism and all kinds of colonialism for all times to come.'

"We fully accord with the seven-point Djakarta Declaration and I am sure that this conference of the Afro-Asian Journalists would succeed in its expeditious implementation."

NIGER

(Mamani Abdoulaye)

"Everywhere, colonialism and imperialism are on the retreat under the irresistible pressure of the masses, leaving misery, ruin and ravages in their wake. And in their relentless struggle against domination, racialism and exploitation, the peoples of Asia and Africa have never ceased to organise themselves still better in order to win new victories.

"We should always keep in mind that we are dedicated journalists, determined fighters, true and loyal interpreters of the interests of our peoples. In this capacity, journalism to us cannot be a simple means of information, but a real weapon against falsehood and obscurantism".

PAKISTAN

(Safder Ali Qureishi)

"The people of Pakistan, who have suffered a long colonial rule and are still struggling to recover from its effects, are fully conscious of the conditions of their brethren of the newly independent countries and of those who still labour under the tyranny of colonialism and neo-colonialism.

"From its very inception Pakistan has been in the forefront in raising a voice of protest against those who tried to throttle the freedom of occupied nations and made whatever efforts she could to secure independence and self-determination for the subjugated people. That voice of protest, I can assure you, will continue to be raised by the journalists and the people of Pakistan until every nation is free from the alien rule and is free to manage her own affairs in accordance with the aspirations of her people."

PHILIPPINES

(Ernesto Bitong)

"It was the young Filipino journalists and writers, led by Rizal, who founded the Philippines nation in the first fires of revolution. And indeed, they gave the world the first demonstration of the Asian's capacity to fight and win a war of liberation. For, they defeated the Spanish armies and on the ruins of the old empire successfully built the first republic in the history of Asia and Africa. This was in 1898. The Philippine Republic at Malolos eventually succumbed to the superior arms of the Americans, who rushed into the vacuum created by the decline and fall of Spanish imperialists.

"Mr. Chairman, the Philippine Press, in the light of its own beginnings, cannot but feel a strong sense of solidarity with Afro-Asian journalist."

"PORTUGUESE" GUINEA AND THE CAPE VERDE ISLAND

(Andrade Lucette)

"Solidly united and constantly animated by the active solidarity of all the peoples of Asia and Africa, we are sure to liquidate completely, very soon, the Portuguese colonial domination, wherever it is found.

"Under the banner of the Bandung Principles, we have been able to build up Afro-Asian solidarity, which is one of the most important forces in the common struggle against imperialism.

"In the face of the criminal attitude of the Portuguese Government, we decided to take up arms in the fight to win our national independence.

"We are sure that the Afro-Asian journalists will spare no effort in bringing a concrete and effective support to our struggle for national liberation."

N. & S. RHODESIA JOINT ADDRESS

(S. Wina and M. Mtizwa)

"In our view, this conference must achieve two things. One is that it must once again examine the battlefield and reaffirm the moral

and ideological stand of Bandung so that no one, who is fighting against colonialism, even in the remotest part of the world, will feel he is alone against the mighty forces of the dollar, the pound and the franc.

"Secondly, and much more important, it is the duty of this conference to formulate practical ways to ensure that the people who are still fighting against imperialism are afforded all practical aid in establishing newspapers, publishing pamphlets and in acquiring other methods of mass propaganda.

"In Northern Rhodesia Mr. Kenneth Kaunda and his United National Independence Party are just breaking through the night of colonialism into the morrow of independence.

"Let us look at Southern Rhodesia. There an apostle of Verwoerd by the name of Winston Field, a French Hugenot, whose ancestors ravaged South Africa, is now completely in power and has indicated that his regime is not going to stop at anything to ensure that African nationalism stops dead in Northern Rhodesia and does not cross the Zambesi.

"For speaking against the regime in any part of the world we are liable, on our return home, to a penalty of five years rigorous imprisonment. All African political movements are banned and leaders are being terrorised to flee to adjacent territories."

SIERRA LEONE

(Miss N. Grant)

"The task and duties of the Afro-Asian journalists are not easy. The fact that for centuries our peoples were deprived of educational facilities by the imperialists and capitalists makes it more evident that we should, in all our writing and reporting, be steadfast and sincere to our people. We can only do that by our writing and reporting the truth in the most simple form that the masses of our people will be able to read and understand."

SOMALIA

(Mohammed Hashi)

"I am optimistic about the future of the Press of the Afro-Asian countries, which will always work for consolidating the co-operation among the countries of Africa and Asia, so long as we believe that the Press is one of the effective and successful means of creating a spirit of co-operation and directing it towards the desired goal.

"I am glad to tell my fellow delegates that both the Somali Radio and Press have played a positive role in opposing imperialism and colonialism, unmasking their conspiracies against the freedom movements in Asia and Africa. They have, also, played a positive role in defending the freedom, independence and rights of Afro-Asian peoples.

"We in Somali Republic strongly believe that the victories won by our countries were but good results of the co-operation and solidarity of the Afro-Asian peoples in conformity with the principles of the Bandung Conference."

S. AFRICA

(Lionel E. Morrison)

"A free progressive Press can exist only in conditions of freedom and democracy. Here at this First Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference we should like to emphasise this idea, for our country is a case in point.

"The Press, on the whole, in South Africa is motivated by business consideration, like the capitalist press generally is, and indulges in sensation-mongering in order to distract the attention of the readers from reality; in order to distract the mass of the people from the real struggle of death and life. They are the tools of the reactionary forces, the resident oppressors and monopoly capitalism.

"The fundamental principle of journalist ethics is to write the truth, to give truthful information and comment in accordance with one's conscience, with the legitimate aspirations of peoples for national independence, social progress, democracy, freedom and peace. Conditions in the trade must be such in all countries that journalists may be able to work according to this principles.

"The great Maxim Gorki once said that a journalist and a doctor are the same. They both examine, diagnose and prescribe. The journalist has a great responsibility in informing public opinion. Ethics request all democratic journalists to work unceasingly for world peace, which is only possible with the complete elimination of all forms of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. As long as imperialism, colonialism, both new and old, still exist, there can be no world peace. World peace can only come about if we are all free from the chains of oppression and exploitation. It is our duty to be both part and parcel in this struggle. Our ethics demand that."

S. AFRICA

(J.J. Hadebe)

"Let the world know that for the mass bloodbath that Verwoerd and his henchmen is preparing, Great Britain will take the greatest blame. She of all the imperialists in the world, is leading in aiding and abetting the Verwoerd Government; she has strengthened her economic and trade relations with South Africa, even though South Africa is no longer a member of the Commonwealth.

"We further wish to make an urgent appeal for the strict and immediate compliance with the resolution piloted by the Afro-Asian members of the United Nations for the imposition of economic and diplomatic sanctions against South Africa".

SOUTH-WEST AFRICA

(Ambrose H. Kandjii)

"Constitutionally, politically, economically, even militarily, South-West Africa is linked to South Africa and our basic problems remain similar to those of our comrades in South Africa. Even we men of the Press suffer the same oppression. Freedom of the Press, which is universally respected, in our country has become the platform on which the so-called Prime Minister Verwoerd, Minister for "injustice", Vorster, are performing the dirtiest activities.

"The so-called South-West Africa Administration, which speaks for no one and stands all alone by itself, has turned S.W. Africa into a land of poverty and famine, a living burning hell, into a human butchery covered with prisoners and gallows by enforcing a colonial rule and committing exploitation and plunder since its take-over from the German colonialists in 1915.

"Verwoerd regime, backed by the most truculant, most teacherous and avaricious NATO Powers, led

by U.S. imperialism, has established an aggressive military base at Walvisbay as a means to suppress the people's struggle."

SUDAN

(Ismail Attabani)

"I wish to remind you that there are still foreign newspapers printed and distributed in our countries in Africa and Asia, and we cannot compete with these in the market unless we offer the high standard of newspapers.

"To those who say, 'let us gain our battles against colonialism and imperialism first', I say the Press must be strong in order to fight arm in arm with the progressive forces towards that end."

SYRIA

(Abdulrahman Aboukosse)

"At an international press conference I have suggested that every journalist takes the following oath : 'I swear in all solemnity that I shall not betray any nation in its struggle to win and preserve freedom, and I shall speak and write nothing but the truth.'

"If we survey the world Press, it will become obvious to us that a part of it has deviated from these objectives. In the eyes of certain journalists, the truth is everything that conforms to the interests of the capitalists or of the men in control without any regard and respect for the interests of the people.

"Let us fight our common enemies ; let us march towards our liberation. When we are obstructed, when our reports are distorted, when our unity is regarded as dangerous to our enemies, then we must know that such attempts do not belong to a genuine press activity".

TANGANYIKA

(W. Bukholi)

"Before independence, having felt the winds change, the imperialists started sponsoring an opposition to TANU. The imperialist Press gave the so-called opposition artificial publicity in order to bring it to the public eye. The people, however, refused to be hoodwinked and dealt it defeat after defeat at the polls.

"We in Tanganyika, therefore, now propose to establish our own daily newspapers in English within this year so that the true voice of Tanganyika will be heard at home and abroad.

"We in Africa and Asia must do all in our power to see to it that we are left free to mould our societies in a manner suited to our historical and cultural heritage, free from interference and free from the cold war. For, the task of combatting poverty, ignorance and disease (major means of keeping imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism in check) is a difficult and arduous one."

TUNISIA

(Saah Mohammed)

"The Journalists' responsibility is the same as that of the struggle of Afro-Asian people to achieve prestige, progress and social justice. It is needless to stress once more the importance of the unity of the Afro-Asian journalists in this struggle. These journalists who are mad about sensations and dreams have no right place in the Asian-African continents where people fight every minute against hunger, ignorance and injustice."

UGANDA

(Kirunda-Kivejinja)

"Since 1955 the national liberation movements have scored victory after victory and have shaken imperialism and colonialism from their very foundation. Colonialism is now breathing its last, leaving its future behind it and facing a well prepared grave for its unceremonial burial, with nobody to shed tears and nobody to mourn.

"We are all agreed that because of the special historical assignment at this stage of the revolution of mankind in which we are fully engaged, that the Asian and African Press has to play a role different from that of the Western Press. It must express the aspirations of the New Emerging Forces and maintain vigilance against the old established order, which exploited the people."

S. VIETNAM PATRIOTIC AND DEMOCRATIC JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION.

(Mrs. Nguyen-Thi-Binh)

"While all the peoples of Asia and Africa ardently desire the total abolition of the colonialist regime to restore their freedom and consolidate their independence in order to build up a new and happy life, the imperialists, headed by the US imperialists, seek to intensify their intervention in the Asian and African countries so as to maintain their position of oppression and exploitation through all kinds of cunning and ferocious means.

"The undeclared war carried on by the US army in collaboration with its stooges in South Vietnam not only threatens the life of 14,000,000 of our compatriots, but also directly threatens the peace in Sout East Asia and the world.

"Our struggle will be long and bitter, but we have a just cause. With the active support of the progressive forces of the world and the new emerging forces, as His Exellency President Sukarno puts it, we shall finally win.

"Dear friends, we call on our Afro-Asian colleagues and all the progressive journalists of the world to expose the true face of the imperialists' policy of aggression and atrocities, specially those of the American imperialists in South Vietnam and other parts of Asia and Africa. Let us not allow them to spread lies to deceive public opinion, to twist truth into untruth, to call our patriots rebels, and traitors the benefactors of the people."

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

(Luu Quy Ky)

"We are journalists sharing the same fate. Our complexion, political views and religious creeds may differ, but we can agree with one another on the most sacred ideals, namely, national independence, democracy, social progress, peace and friendship among nations.

"We have the Ten Principles of the 1955 Bandung Conference as a basis for our co-operation and mutual assistance. It is just in the spirit of Bandung that our Vietnamese delegation has come here to meet you. We will do everything we can to join you in contributing to the further strengthening and development of the spirit of co-operation and anti-imperialism of the Bandung Conference.

"As regards our common enemy, imperialism, first and foremost the brutal and cunning U.S. imperialism, our solidarity will give us

(continued on page 17)

P.A.J.U. Pledges To Liberate Africa

By
Lionel
Morrison

The historical significance of the six-day second conference of African Journalists held in Accra from November 12th — 17th, 1963, is that it, firstly, sought to define the role of the African journalists in the forward march of the African Revolution; secondly, in re-emphasising its anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neo-colonialist stand; and thirdly, in reasserting its historical place in the Third World.

Born out of this desire, the second conference of over 200 African journalists from 32 African countries, was the natural follow-up of the historic Bamako Congress held in May, 1961, attended then by only 10 countries. Only two years have since passed and the number of full participants has trebled. Of course this full participation by all the African countries has come about not because of unity for unity's sake, but because of revolutionary necessity and a common revolutionary basis built on our revolutionary anti-colonialist creed. Thus, African journalists convened the second conference and set up an organised, militant union that has both its feet firmly planted in the African Revolution.

The problems confronting the 200 African journalists were numerous; delegates representing various trends of thought, with differing backgrounds, hailing from independent, partly independent and dependent countries. But in this temporary diversity, the result of years of colonial rule and the Balkanization of Africa, a concrete unitary base was set up.

In a seven-point resolution adopted at the end of the Conference, the 200 journalists emphasised firmly their belief that African journalists should consistently and persistently decry the inhuman policies of colonialism, which is mainly instrumental in preventing Africa from becoming completely free.

The resolution condemned "the inhuman policies pursued by the Pretoria regime, colonialism and its attendant vice and all forms of racial discrimination".

It emphasised that African journalists quite aware of their task in the struggle for the total liberation of the continent and concious of their role in recent events in Africa, "do realise that our peculiar position as African journalists demands of us something more than a professional attitude to our problems."

The resolution condemned "the inhuman situation created by the colonial powers in the countries still under foreign domination," and called on African journalists to give their unflenching support to nationalists in those countries.

"We believe that in our endeavour to fight this political cancer of colonialism, imperialism, apartheid and white supremacy, African journalists should constantly in their national press organs condemn the inhuman action perpetrated by these systems."

"We should give prominence to news-items offered by news agencies of the already independent African states and carefully sift through those offered by well-know imperialist concerns before publishing them" it said.

What a refreshing attitude, if one takes into account the willy nilly attempts by some people to whitewash the imperialist press and their lackeys urging us to discuss journalism in a technical aura of unreality, with the very agencies and tools of such agencies, which we regard as confirmed enemies of the African Revolution.

On African unity, the conference stressed that "it is our bounden duty as African Journalists to work within the framework of the Addis Ababa Charter towards the realisation of a *continental unity*, which will be reflected in a *continental government*."

(continued on page 16)

Extract of address by Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Ghana Republic, at the Opening of the Second Conference of African Journalists at Accra on November 11th, 1963.

"We Gain Nothing By Twisting Truth"

"We, who are fighting against colonialism and imperialism, we, who are fighting against the blandishment of client states and settler governments in Africa, and are seeking to create a just society in which the welfare of each shall be the welfare of all, must stand against the methods of those whose journalism has precisely the opposite ends.

"We have nothing to gain by suppressing or distorting facts. Circulation of newspapers itself is not our first consideration, though obviously we are anxious to reach and inform the widest possible audience.

"We have no wish to play upon the gullibility of that audience, for it is precisely to the interests of that audience that we are dedicated. And we can only promote those interests by self-criticism and the faithful presentation of truth and fact.

"The journalist, who works faithfully for our African Revolution, refuses to sell his soul to imperialism and to Moloch, and thus starts with an advantage over his colleagues of the imperialist and neo-colonialist Press.

"The true African revolutionary Press does not exist merely for enriching its proprietors. It is an integral part of our society, with which its purpose is in consonance. Just as the Press in the capitalist countries represents and carries out the purpose of capitalism, in Revolutionary Africa our Revolutionary African Press must represent and carry forward our revolutionary purpose.

"Our Press must be foremost in inspiring and educating the masses of our continent so that they can withstand the onslaught of decadent ideas and influences that permeate the ranks of the opportunists and neo-colonialist agents among us.

"Who is best able to exercise that vigilance, to furnish the material for self-criticism, to sound warnings against any departure from principles, if not the Press of Revolutionary Africa?

"We were divided in our continent not by chance or by choice, but by force. We cannot cure that division by force among ourselves. We can only cure it by African unity, by coming together within a union government, not by perpetuating the artificial boundaries between us.

"Time is being used by imperialists to sow confusion and destruction among us. We can frustrate their knavish tricks only by coming together, by coming together now. Putting off the reality of African Union will only add inertia to the confusion. It will bring the African revolution to a standstill, perhaps for the next thousand years.

"Now is the hour to seal the Union Government of Africa."

THE AFRICAN STRUGGLE

(continued from page 15)

The conference pledged its support to all organisations in Africa, actively engaged in the struggle for the liberation of the African continent, for the assertion of the African Personalily and in the contribution they were making towards the safeguarding of world peace.

On the question of world peace, the delegates assured themselves that world peace was not possible when colonialism and impelialism were still allowed to maintain and extend their exploitative tentacles on the Third World and on mankind generally.

Taking its keynote from President Kwame Nkrumah's opening address (extract of which we have included in this issue because of its revolutionary content), the 200 jounalists realistically recounted their failures and their successes.

It can rightly be said that this second conference is a watershed. It is the end of one period and the beginning of another in the history of African journalism. It provides the necessary junction for a new dynamic and revolutionary departure in the conscious move to weld the journalists of Africa into a crack army corps within the African liberation movements. The twin objective of this revolutionary crusade is an end to foreign control of our continent and the abolition of exploitation l'homme par l'homme.

The 200 African journalists know full well that the Imperialists and Colonialists fear the genuine forces of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism most of all, and in as much as the most violent storms of anti-Imperialist and anti-Colonialist struggle are centred in Afro-Asian Latin American countries, they will do all they can to set one African country against another. They do this not only by using armed intervention or by the legacy of Balkanization which they have left — but also by means of such disguised weapons as economic aid and

(continued on page 17)

(continued from page 14)

added strength to win victory. The more we are united, the stronger we will be. The stronger our unity, the more effective our pens".

ZANZIBAR

(Rajab Saleh Salim)

"The Zanzibar people denounce the imperialist and colinialist manoeuvres of delaying the independence of Zanzibar and other African dependent countries like Angola, Mozambiuqe, Portuguese Guinea, South West Africa, South Africa, Northern Rhodesia, Kenya, Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland.

"In Zanzibar we are continuing with the struggle for full independence in the belief that we are going to destroy all imperialist and colonialist manoeuvres and win it with the full support of the African and Asian countries, which call for the full liberation of Africa and Asia.

"We, writers and journalists of Zanzibar, accept and salute the Bandung resolutions, which inspire and guide us to free the entire Africa and Asia".

ZANZIBAR

(Salim Ahmed Salim)

"In our contemporary world we have two types of journalists. We have the journalists who report and write matters in the interest of the exploiting class, notably the monopolists, and we have the other group of journalists whose duty it is to report the truth, thereby serving the interests of the general public.

"Experience has shown us that the first group of journalists would go to any extent fabricating and disorting facts so as to deliberately misrepresent the true situations in different countries, in favour of the exploiting class and against the toiling masses.

"These types of journalists are, mostly, found in the capitalist "free world" where the press, the radio and, indeed, all the means of disseminating information are in the hands of a few monopolists and where journalism is considered as an instrument not to project true facts, but to further the sinister machinations of the imperialists and their lackeys against the oppressed people and nations and against the democratic forces."

THE AFRICAN STRUGGLE

(continued from page 16)

"peace corps". As part of such trickery the imperialists and colonialists slander the most staunch and powerful anti-imperialists members of our continents as "war mongers", "racialists", "extremists". We bear witness to the constant vicious attack in the capitalist press on our leaders and Heads of State.

But what is sometimes more distressing is when some people who profess to be friends of Africa use the same phraseology, and even vie with each other in urging us not to make armed battle — the only language that the colonialists understand-to win national independence. "The profits of colonialism are still too large for the imperialist to give them up without a struggle -stated the adopted basic objections of the PAJU.

Yes, it was not for any emotional ill will that the 200 journalists warned against the dangerous incursions of the NATO powers.

It is therefore not surprising that they reinterated that "The NATO powers particularly the United States are dangerous ..... by some pretended sympathy for the peoples groaning under colonialism U.S. agents win the confidence of freedom fighters. By supplying them with generous funds, they try to win their loyalty.

"We have seen the effect of this in the Congo ..... It is a great danger, and constant vigilance is required".

Therefore, in the world fight against colonialism and neo-colonialism, this second conference firmly cemented the African journalist in the Afro-Asian-Latin American anti-imperialist struggle. Realising that it is within these areas of conflict that imperialism and colonialism are most active, and where they will suffer their severest defeats, the conference called on all African journalists to condemn the three forms of neo-colonialism indicated by :

* the maitaining of military bases by foreign countries in African states,
* neo-colonialism under the guise of economic and technical aid and
* through the intermediary of non-African countries, which profess good intentions, but in actual fact are tools of international imperialism in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

It would be well to mention the tremendous ovation that our Indonesian colleague, Tahsin, representing AAJA, got when he stressed the common ideals, the common history and the common enemy that we journalists in the Third World share.

Because of the realisation that they have a historic role to play in the remodelling of the world's political and economic structure, the PAJU stressed the importance of keeping contact and working together with international organisations. Unfortunately, our attitude has been misconstrued by some of our friends.

This second conference has blazed a new trail for African journalism. What is left now is to carry the fight into each African country with a view to overthrowing the old colonialist concept. We must make sure that the torch lit at Accra is kept alight, that it burns brightly and that it illumines the path of the African Revolution until complete freedom has been achieved.

Members of the Permanent Secretariat of the AAJA. From left to right: Mr. Huang Cheng Seng (China), Mr. Joesoef (Indonesia), Mr. L. Morrison (S. Africa), Mr. M. W. Bukholi (Tanganyika), Mr. A. Aboukosse (Syria), Mr. M. Gologo (Mali), Mr. Djawoto, Secretary-General (Indonesia), Mr. Y. Kobayashi (Japan), Mr. Li Ping Chuan (China), S. A. Baghli (Algeria) and Asrar Ahmad (Pakistan). This picture was taken during the second meeting of the Secretariat. Ceylon's permanent member of the Secretariat, Mr. D. Manuweera, who arrived late for the meeting, is not in the picture. The Northern Rhodesian delegate could not attend due to the general elections in his country.

Next Conference In Algeria

Resolutions

The second meeting of the A. A. J. A. Secretariat, which was held from November 30th to December 1st, 1963, in Gadog Bogor, (Indonesia), decided:

1. to hold the second Asian-African Journalists' Conference in Algeria in April, 1965,

2. to accept the recommendation of the Secretary-General, Mr. Djawoto, that Mr. Joesoef be appointed Vice-Secretary General considering the fact that Mr. Joesoef has to his credit a rich experience and wide reputation, both in international activities and in journalistic profession,

3. to name April 24th, the opening day of the first A.A.-J.C., "The Asian-African Journalists' Day",

4. to establish a Patrice Lumumba Foundation, which intends to set up a library and publishing and research sections for the Asian-African nations.

I. THE PAN AFRICAN JOURNALISTS' UNION CONFERENCE.

The second meeting of the A.A.J.A. Secretariat, held in Gadog, Bogor, Indonesia, on November 30th and December 1st, 1963, having heard the report of Mr. Gologo, the A.A.J.A. secretary from Mali, on the Pan African Union of Journalists' Conference, which was convened in Accra from November 12th — 17th, 1963, notes with pleasure and contentment the success of the conference.

Of late the struggle of the African people has made great advances and been more consolidated. The desire and aspiration for unity amongst the African people at present has achieved concrete results, especially after the successes of the summit conference of states in Addis Ababa, which has had an influence on the second conference of the Pan African Journalists' Union in Accra.

Many victories have gained in the struggle for national independence in Africa.

The armed struggle of the peoples of Angola and the so-called Portuguese Guinea against oppression is a reality that we should support with full responsibility.

This meeting hails the struggle of the people of Zanzibar and Kenya, who will attain their freedom and independence on 10th and 12th of December respectively after a long and bitter struggle against British imperialism-colonialism.

We should increase and strengthen the struggle against the racialist dictatorship that is still dominating in South Africa, and we should also increase and strengthen the struggle against Portuguese imperialist rule in Angola and Mozambique and settler domination in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

We fully welcome and support the decisions of the Second Pan African Journalists' Union Conference in Accra that has exposed the dirty efforts and actions of neo-colonialism, and has taken a determinate stand against the influence and domination of neo-colonialism. In this connection, it is very important to note the decision taken there that the power of NATO, in the first place American imperialism, is threatening the independence and unity of Africa. It is, therefore, very dangerous, too, to have false hopes in imperialism, U.S. imperialism in the first place, in our struggle to defend the interests of the people.

We fully support every emerging struggle for complete national independence that creates a stronger and more consolidated unity in Asia as well as in Africa and Latin America. We want to give such struggles concrete aid.

The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America is dealing direct blows at imperialism and colonialism. The militant unity of the people of these three continents is of vital importance. Their struggle contributes to the revolutionary cause of the people all over the world, and is not only a matter of regional significance.

It is completely erroneous to say that the unity of Africa and that of Asia-Africa or Asia-Africa-Latin

(continued on page 20)

AN INTERNATIONAL COUNTER-FORCE NECESSARY

. . . . says

S. TAHSIN, representative of A.A.J.A., in his speech at P.A.J.U. Meeting held in Accra in November, 1963.

"I am very happy that even though my arrival has been delayed, I am still able, on behalf of Mr. Djawoto, the Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association, to extend the best wishes to this very important conference of African journalists.

"Although we are from different continents, we have our common stand against imperialism. We are familiar with the oppression, which, for centuries, has been brought upon us; we have endured the most cruel poverty, which leads the standard of living of human beings even to a point similar, pardon me for the expression, to that of animals.

"Yes, we know the oppression in its extreme forms and methods. We know exactly our common enemies, imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism. We see before us the awakening of the peoples of Asia and Africa. We know their struggle, their strong national feelings, their feelings for patriotism. All these make us closely united and make the feeling of solidarity among us grow stronger and stronger. That is why, dear colleagues, since I arrived in the capital of Ghana, I could say that I have understood deeply the feelings in the hearts of the people of Ghana, the people, who, with their militant struggle, always hold up the banner of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism.

"Many countries in our two big continents have achieved their national independence. But peoples of Afro-Asian countries realise that national independence alone is not their ultimate aim. No, the ultimate aim of our struggle is, as mentioned by President Sukarno, a just and prosperous society, free from exploitation of man by man. For achieving this aim we should further strengthen our unity. This unity between us should be even extended to Latin America. This unity between us is the main power of the New Emerging Forces in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

"After independence our enemy never allowed us to build our nation in the way we liked to. They tried by every means to disturb our national independence either from within or without. The Congo is a tragic example in Africa of this interference of neo-colonialism. We are witnesses of the dirty tricks of imperialism again in South Vietnam and even in South East Asia just beyond the borders of Indonesia, known as the Federation of Malaysia.

"The people of Indonesia, Malaya, North Kalimantan and Singapore, are now engaged in their struggle against this new colonialism. The people of Indonesia, Malaya, North Kalimantan and Singapore never oppose each other, but it is rather the opposition of the people from all these countries against imperialism, whether it is British imperialism that has established this bulwark of neo-colonialism or the United States imperialism, that helps to maintain and defend it.

"Let us now look also at South Africa where the people are oppressed by imperialism and facism, which, in fact, should have been eradicated long ago. And I think you will agree with me that this so-called apartheid policy is the most brutal form of oppression by imperialism. We all aim to maintain peace, but this does not mean we are prepared to sacrifice our national independence and our human dignity for mere peace. As we always say, we love peace, but more than that we love freedom.

"This is the reason why, my dear friends and collegues, we have to continue our struggle, fight this terror of the world. President Sukarno has told us that imperialism is a united force. It is an international force. So what should we do with this international force? The only thing we have to do is to form also an international counter-force against imperialism.

"As you may be well aware, at the Asian-African Journalists' Conference we unanimously adopted a number of resolutions to express our resolute support to the African peoples' struggle for national independence and African unity in their fight against imperialism, old and new colonialism and racial discrimination. In your struggle for total liberation and unity of Africa you can rest assured that the A.A.-J.A. will extend to you its unreserved support.

"I am of the conviction that you African journalists have these strong feelings of unity among you and among African peoples for a united Africa. As Osagyefo, the President, stated in his opening address, you, as African journalists, must help to create and develope the new Africa of which our

(continued on page 27)

Resolutions

(continued from page 18)

America will split the international progressive forces. On the contrary, as President Sukarno correctly said in his speech on October 28th last, the Afro-Asian unity or that of Asia-Africa-Latin America is strengthening the unity of the international progressive forces, and the struggle against imperialism and colonialism is reaching its culmination, precisely and foremost in those regions.

It is only on the basis of the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism that unity can be realised and consolidated and that results can be achieved that meet the wishes and aspirations of the people. It is in this light that we respond to the desire and aspiration for unity of the African people as has been so rightly expressed in the summit conference of states in Addis Ababa as well as in the recent Pan African Journalists' Union Conference in Accra.

The Second A.A.J.A. Secretariat Conference states its conviction that, based on the decisions of the Accra Conference, the struggle of the Pan African Journalists' Union will yield even greater successes and will still strengthen its relations with the A.A.J.A.

II. THE VENUE OF THE SECOND A.A.J.C.

The Secretariat of the A.A.J.A., at its second meeting received with great pleasure and satisfaction the invitation of President Ben Bella of Algeria to hold the second A.A.J.C. in Algeria.

The meeting considers that Algeria is the most suitable venue for the second A.A.J.C. as a tribute to the heroic Algerian people, who have struggled against imperialism and who continue to do so resolutely.

The holding of the second A.A.J.C. in Algeria is also in accordance with the decision of the first Secretariat meeting of May 2th, 1963, in Djakarta.

The Secretariat of the A.A.J.A. will closely co-operate with their colleagues and the Government of Algeria in the preparatory work to make the second A.A.J.C. a great success.

The second meeting of the Secretariat hopes that the second A.A.J.C. in Algeria will strengthen the unity and solidarity of the peoples and journalists of Asia and Africa in their resolute struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and to achieve complete national independence.

The A.A.J.A. Secretariat conveys the warmest greetings and expresses its sincere gratitude to President Ben Bella for his willingness to take upon the realisation of the second A.A.J.C. in Algeria.

III. THE SECOND ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE.

The Second A.A.J.A. Secretariat meeting reaffirms the necessity for the convocation of the second Asian-African Conference.

We are convinced that the second Asian-African Conference under the present world situation and development will bring fresh successes and victories for the struggle of Asian, African and Latin American peoples against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The successes of the Addis Ababa Conference and the recently held Ganefo have convinced us all the more that the political consciousness of the Asian-African peoples has attained a higher level. This will be a sure guarantee for the successful holding of the second Asian-African Conference.

IV. THE RESULTS OF THE GANEFO.

The Second A.A.J.A. Secretariat meeting, with great joy, wineseses the realisation of the resolution of the First A.A.J.C. supporting the holding of the Ganefo.

Ganefo, which was held in Djakarta from 10th to 22nd November, 1963, in which 48 countries participated, constituted a tremendous success. It fully lived up to its objective of strengthening friendship and co-operation amongst the nations of the whole world through sports, and was a demonstration of the strength and glory of the New Emerging Forces.

By holding high the Olympic ideals it also exposed the false policy of the imperialists, who by monopolising the I.O.C., are using sports as a means to carry out discrimination and division.

To Indonesia as host country and to each participant in the Ganefo, the meeting of the A.A.J.A. Secretariat wishes to extend its warmest salutations and states its readiness to aid the Ganefo Federation towards holding the second Ganefo, which will be much bigger and more glorious than the first Ganefo.

V. CONFRONTATION WITH "MALAYSIA".

The Second meeting of the A.A.J.A. Secretariat, after having closely studied the realisation of the neo-colonialist project, "Malaysia", and the peoples' struggle against it, considers that confrontation with "Malaysia" is not the concern of the peoples in Malaya, Singapore, Sabah, Serawak, Brunei and Indonesia alone, but also of other peoples in the whole of Asia and Africa, even in the whole world, and, therefore, it is the duty of every progressive journalist and newspaper to contribute with all the available media in developing the anti-colonialist confrontation and in bringing it to final victory.

On the occasion of the first anniversary of the North Kalimantan Revolution on December 8th, 1963, the Conference salutes the revolutionary fighters of North Kalimantan and wishes them new and greater successes in political and military fields.

This resolution was unanimously adopted with the following Observation from Pakistan member, Mr. Asrar Ahmad : —

"I as a delegate of the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists strongly feel that another attempt should be made at the restoration of friendly relations, which of late existed between Malaya and Indonesia."

VI. SITUATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM.

The Second A.A.J.A. Secretariat meeting witnesses with admiration the progress achieved by the people of South Vietnam under the leadership of the National People's Liberation Front in their struggle for national independence.

(continued on page 26)

S. Vietnam people's forces strengthen

Against US and local reactionary troops

The peoples of the New Emerging Forces are witnessing with great admiration the victories that have been, and are being, won by the people of South Vietnam in their struggle against United States imperialism and domestic reactionaries for national independence, democracy, neutrality, the unification of their country and for peace in South-East Asia and in the world.

The United States, having taken over French colonial rule in Indo-China after the conclusion of the Geneva Agreement in 1954, has sent thousands of officers and troops to South Vietnam and poured millions of dollars into the coffers of the reactionary regime there with the aim of getting control over this country and, then, control the whole of South-east Asia, transforming it into a basis to launch aggression against the socialist countries, such as the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of China.

The strength of the armed forces of the Saigon regime is 400,000 men, including the police force, besides the existence of 17,000 US troops there.

The cost of this undeclared war, paid for by the United States of America, is 1,500,000 US dollars per day, or 400,000,000 dollars a year. For the purpose of cunducting their barbaric air raids, the US has built 101 air-bases that can be used for the operation of jet planes.

By Joesoef

On the other hand, the larger the amount of dollars and the number of troops the US is pouring into South Vietnam, the greater becomes the strength of the armed people under the leadership of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam, which, at the moment, controls two-third of South Vietnam with a population of 7,000,000.

The defeats suffered by the Saigon regime and the US troops are increasing from day to day. In

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Picture above :

A typical scene after a periodical massacre of patriotic South Vietnamese people by the United States and local reactionary troops.

Picture below :

Irrespective of their age and sex, freedom-loving South Vietnamese people are put into concentration camps by the reactionary regime of South Vietnam.

The United States supplies troops, arms and planes to the South Vietnam reactionary Government to kill their own people, who are fighting to liberate their country. Picture shows Government soldiers using an American helicopter to search for patriotic fighters.

1960, the armed forces of the Saigon Government suffered the loss of 12,500 men. In 1961, this figure rose to 90,000. In 1962, the Liberation Front Army destroyed 160, planes of the Saigon regime.

According to the latest information received, 500 planes of the Saigon Government have been destroyed by the Liberation Front Army, so far.

It is also the objective of the United States to control the situation in Laos for its own benefit and to compel the Cambodian Government to abide by its orders.

However, the Vietnamese people, including those living in South Vietnam, who had been taking up arms for nine years to drive away the French colonialists, do not have the slightest desire to accept the aims and objectives of the United States. They have been fighting heroically, picking up again their arms and beating back the U.S. imperialists step by step. The world knows that dozens of U.S. planes have been shot down by South Vietnamese fighters with simple weapons. The world also knows that hundreds of the so-called "strategic hamlets" have been annihilated.

The unity of the entire South Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism and domestic reactionaries have been consolidated and strengthened with every passing day, thanks to the correct leadership of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, which celebrated its third anniversary on December 20th, 1963. The unity of these anti-imperialist forces is the prerequisite for the continued victories in the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

The Afro-Asian journalists, united in the Asian-African Journalists' Association, in the second conference of the A.A.J.A. Secretariat, held in Gadok, Bogor, Indonesia, from November 30th to December 1st, 1963, stated, among other things, in their resolution that the A.A.J.A. "witnessed with admiration the progress achieved by the people of South Vietnam under the leadership of the National Liberation Front in their struggle for national independence".

The resolution went on to say that the conference "appeals to progressive journalists and their associations throughout the world to support concretely the active work of the South Vietnamese journalists to further the struggle of their people".

This is a very correct resolution. Progressive journalists should pose the struggle of the South Vietnamese people as a struggle for national independence, democracy, social justice and peace. The armed resistance waged by the South Vietnamese people is a righteous struggle. Every progressive journalist is convinced of this. In view of the great importance this struggle has assumed, it is seriously felt that broader coverage should be given to it.

The imperialists are saving neither time nor energy, nor money to depict the resistance of the South Vietnamese people as the struggle of only the South Vietnamese communists.

The progressive journalists have a duty to refute this kind of propaganda since it, apart from slandering the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, is clearly aimed at belittling the role of the South Vietnamese people, who brilliantly succeeded in capturing the weapons from their enemies and using them for their (enemies) own liquidation. All revolutions in the world have amply proved that revolutionary fighters obtain their arms chiefly from their enemies.

Recently, the United States called a conference in Honolulu between the highest Government officials of the U.S. and their most important generals. The aim of this conference was none other than the mapping out of further steps to be taken by the U.S. after the murder of their discarded puppet, Ngo Dinh Diem.

The results of the conference were made known to the public through President Johnson's statement on December 7th, 1963, which said in effect that America would intensify the war in South Vietnam until victory was achieved.

In this connection we recall the resolution passed by the recent meeting of the A.A.J.A. Secretariat, which stated that "the Secretariat expresses its profound sympathy to the people of South Vietnam and proposes to the progressive journalists throughout the world to increase their assistance to the people of South Vietnam by, in the first place, fostering public opinion about the justness of the struggle of the South Vietnamese people in order to expell American imperialism and its henchmen in the struggle for complete national independence, for prosperity and peace".

The imperialist press would like to depict the struggle of the South Vietnamese people as the "Vietcong" struggle, and by that they mean the struggle of the South Vietnamese Communists. But this is further from the truth. The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, as is evident from its constitution, is composed of all anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-neo-colonialist democratic forces in South Vietnam.

The Indonesian people have once played host to the Secretary-General of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, Prof. Nguyen Van Hieu. He was cordially received by President Sukarno and Cabinet Ministers, as well as warmly welcomed by

(continued on page 27)

JOURNALIST: His role in a free country and a country to be free

EVEN if the classic theory of the separation of powers (legislative, executive and judiciary) relegates the press to the fourth power in a free country, in the period of struggle for independence and reconstruction, the press, however, becomes the second important weapon after the people themselves.

I do not think that the reader of such a bulletin as this needs any explanation concerning the role of the Press, whether in a free country or during the struggle of a country for independence.

Anyhow, every weapon will lack force and will not serve properly according to its ability unless it is under a sincere, powerful and well-organised body.

The Press is also the most dangerous weapon, which could be easily turned to evil usage instead of a good one, if it moves from a sincere, strong and well-organised body to a hired, weak and badly-organised body.

The awakening of Asia and New Africa, whether expressed in forms of activities of reconstruction and development as is happening in the newly independent countries, or manifestated by revolution and struggle in countries, which, in some way or other, are still under oppression of colonialism and imperialism, is an awakening, which, in fact, relies upon the strength of the people themselves and international public contact.

It becomes extremely difficult to lead people along a revolutionary path unless proper tactics and correct strategy are used in the framework of popular and progressive slogans representing their aspirations and assuring the realisation of success.

One of the most important means of popularising such slogans and of acquiring state power is the various forms of mass media.

By

A. Aboukosse

Journalism is a craft, which depends mostly upon the persons giving responsibility to it. This understanding of journalism will be worthless if it is absent from the personalities prepared for the job -the journalists.

The value of a journalist's labour is guaranteed in his ability to influence. In fact, this is only a reflection of the journalist's personality, and in the instance that it is used as the printed word it becomes revolutionary labour and a revolutionary weapon as well.

This labour, although it can arouse an international revolutionary spirit, will loose its power and intrinsic value and become plain jabbering if it is not able to penetrate its way into the community concerned — or the world at large. This is exactly like the value of a waterfall which falls directly to a river and quickly flows to the ocean, without being utilised to produce electric power or irrigate any land.

These are realities concerning journalism, its role and the responsibility of the journalist. They are not ignored by the enemies of freedom, and are used to further their interests. They know, as well as we do, the great power of the Press and, quite rightly, they will attempt and use this great power to further their diabolical needs.

Since the material instruments of the colonialist is far better than the revolutionaries it is easy for the colonialist propaganda trumpets to distort the truth about liberation movements and to poison the youth -the life-blood of the revolutionary movement-by diverting their minds to sexual and other matters instead of revolutions. Colonialist trumpets wickedly make these youth insult or discredit primitive people, whose backwardness, in fact, is due to colonialism.

The Press, broadcasting, TV, movies and other media of mass information, whenever they expose the social backwardness of Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples and arouse feelings of insult towards the poorer by the more developed community, spread lies that our shortcomings cannot be bettered except under colonialism. Thus, it also aims to cover the truth that this backwardness is actually the result of colonialism. Colonialism does not intend to abolish this backwardness, for, indeed, such conditions are in its own interest.

Evidence for this argument is easily seen in the very attitude of the colonialists themselves. Until now after several years of exploitation, the colonialists have made no attempt to improve the social conditions of the millions of people, who have been under their oppressive yoke. In fact, they do not even try to help the independent countries to overcome these conditions, when, in fact, they (colonialists) have been primarily responsible for this continued state of affairs. On the contrary, they make the internal and external problems of the new independent countries more complicated in the hope of binding them to their former colonial exploiters. This policy is generated by the desire to regain their old power and prevent the emerging countries from developing and becoming entirely independent.

This diabolical provocation in the field of propaganda is still being executed by the colonialists to retard the peoples' revolutions. Colonialists are possessed with financial, physical, strategic, scientific and cultural advantages. To open the road for the march of national and social revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America it is imperative to create a counterforce against the colonialists.

Now it is clear that the Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference, which was held in April, 1963, in Djakarta, had no other motive than uniting all the Afro-Asian journalists and creating a union of Afro-Asian journalists. This union is the natural outcome of the vast reservoir of culture, knowledge, population, material wealth and fellowship of revolution and reconstruction, which binds the Afro-Asian and Latin American peoples. Its aims are to protect the values of the peoples of Asia and Africa, to join them in their combat against hostile propaganda, to promote friendship among them, to make the greater international powers aware of their real place in the international theatre.

"Petit à petit l'oiseau fait son nid!" It is little by little that the bird makes its nest, says the French proverb. And the Afro-Asian journalists' Conference when advising its members to exchange revolutionary experiences, both positive and negative, through the Permanent Secretariat and through co-operation with progressive news agencies and also through this bulletin, in fact, is laying the first stone of the foundation of a News Agency concerned with Afro-Asian affairs.

If every Afro-Asian journalist sincerely writes about the problems and achievements of his country, such material will naturally be of great assistance to his colleagues. From such a collection of articles we can build a reservoir of progressive material, which could be a great asset in our struggle against the means of propaganda of the capitalits, imperialists and colonialists, who are always hostile to us.

The main conference, which was held in Djakarta and was attended by 48 A.A. journalists' associations, has proved itself to be above nationalism and racialism, and it was not subservient to any country, big or small. The conference was for all the struggling peoples of Afro-Asia since each of them, through their very struggle, was dommitted to the ideals of the conference.

The addresses during the first conference and during the Secretariat meeting amply exposed the scandals of capitalism and colonialism and, also, provided enough material for denouncing the hired agents that represent neo-colonialism. The resolutions, which were passed during the main conference, outline the way which should be followed by the Press in facing all the colonialist and imperialist means of propaganda.

The Secretariat in its November meeting tried to transform the decisions of the conference into plans, which should be executed in the period between the two conferences.

"Through the loudness of the cry and the bark of my enemy, I realise my firm stand." We have to strengthen our united front and make efforts to reach the targets and leave certain dogs barking. Every one of us has to do his best according to his own ability, and this is the only way to gather our strength. Conferences, decisions and plans are worthless unless they are transformed into actions.

Colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism are trying to save themselves from the "danger" of our existence because we always reveal the real face of their propaganda.

We start with the conviction that the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America are stronger than the atomic bomb; even stronger than any other means of destruction. We have destroyed and are going on destroying the terror of bourgeois atmosphere, which is being spread by the new bourgeois war-mongering journalists. This is the tactic of theirs, which tries to paralyse us into being afraid of the struggle. They beseech us with wonderful, lulling phrases of co-existence to stay our revolutionary struggle and await that wonderful day when all will automatically be free and well.

We have proved that revolution is the only means towards glory and there is no power that could keep us away from revolution; there is no propaganda which could tantalise us in waiting for peace. This is simply because we are the heirs of the crime of colonialism and imperialism. We are the generation, who have to suffer from hunger, lack of clothing, disease and vagrancy, though our countries are the richest, because of the greedy nature of colonialism. Both our enemies and our poverty must be destroyed as soon as possible. We are advancing in revolution, in fighting imperialism and colonialism and in improving our conditions. The end of our revolution marks the day when the legend of backwardness and the legend of slavery is crushed beneath the feet of all the peoples — including the peoples of the imperialist and colonialist countries.

As journalists, our responsibility is to give through our pens what the physical fighters give by their blood. It is our duty to mentally rehabilitate those simple folk, who have been trapped by the propagan-

A Journalist's role . . . . . .

da of imperialism and colonialism which brands us inferior and ardently hope that we stay so. Only with our pens and voices and the machette and machine gun can we liquidate our enemy.

Every one in this world has to understand the reality of the struggle of Afro-Asian people. We should not hide our shortcomings and no one should ignore them. On the other hand, we should understand them in their true form to assure the world that we have to be free from colonialism and capitalism if we want to improve our living conditions.

To abolish colonialism and capitalism means the beginning of the victory against backwardness and the beginning of progress.

This is the significance of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Conference which I would like to emphasise. I believe that it contributed something towards the struggle of our peoples. And that it invoked those writers of our countries, while performing their historical task, to hail the common duty facing us — the extermination of our common enemy. Each according to his ability ..... and in the field, which enables him to move better with dexterity.

This is the only way to fulfil the principles of our conference ; this is the only way to do our best. Our ink should have the same value as the blood shed by our brothers in the mountainous regions and the woods, in the trenches and in the battlefields.

Whenever a writer is truthful, his pen is like a fresh spring ; his ink is blood and his paper is a world of the coming reality — full of joy in the victory to come and the eternal peace which must follow, as the bright day after the dark night.

FRONT OPPOSES SEVENTH FLEET

The Commission for External Relations of the South Vietnam Liberation National Front Central Committee has issued a note denouncing the US for introducing its 7th Fleet into the Indonesian Ocean, threatening the national independence and sovereignty of Southeast Asian countries.

The note, wich was released by the National Liberation Press Agency, organ of the Front, was addressed to the Foreign Ministries of Indonesia, Cambodia, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan.

The note proposes to the governments of these countries to cooperate with the South Vietnam Liberation National Front to oppose this move of the US imperialists.

Panamanians demand the abrogation of the 1903 unequel treaty.

Resolutions

(continued from page 20)

The meeting of the A.A.J.A. Secretariat expresses its sincerest sympathy to the people of South Vietnam and proposes to the progressive journalists throughout the world to increase their assistance to the people of South Vietnam by, in the first place, fostering public opinion about the justness of the struggle of the South Vietnamese people to expell American imperialism and its henchmen to achieve complete national independence, prosperity and peace.

The Secretariat meeting appeals to progressive journalists and their associations throughout the world to support concretely under any circumstances the active work of the South Vietnamese journalists to further the struggle of their people.

VII. THE STRUGGLE WAGED BY THE PEOPLE OF LATIN AMERICA.

The Secretariat of the A.A.J.A., considering the fact that the struggle of Latin American people against the imperialists and their lackeys is inseparable from the struggle of the Afro-Asian people against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism,

considering the necessity of strengthening the inter-continental front of the struggle against the forces of oppression and exploitation by imperialists and colonialists,

salutes the peoples of Latin America, who are resolutely engaged in the fight against international imperialism and its lackeys, reaffirms complete solidarity of the Asian-African peoples with the peoples of Latin America and renews its unconditional support to the struggle for liberation waged by all the peoples of Latin America for the liquidation of imperialism, for the termination of the exploitation of man by man and for social justice and progress in this part of the world.

VIII. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PATRICE LUMUMBA FOUNDATION.

The Secretariat of the A.A.J.A., joyfully welcomes the report of the Secretary-General that the Indonesian journalists are laying the basis for the Patrice Lumumba Foundation that aims at building a library and a publishing house and publishing material concerning all aspects of life of Asian and African nations in particular, and the New Emerging Forces in general.

This material will be of tremendous importance in the endeavours to know each other better. The meeting of the A.A.J.A. Secretariat calls upon all, Asian-African journalists in particular, to contribute to the Lumumba Foundation by sending the necessary material.

IX. ON ISRAEL.

The Second Secretariat meeting having analysed the recent international events, specifically, those occured in the Middle East, and recalling the resolution on Israel adopted at the end of the first A.A.J.C. held from April 24th to May 1st, 1963,

strongly denounces and condemns the recent provocations of Israel directed against the Arab Republic of Syria,

once more draws the attention of the world to the inhuman fate of the Arab Palestine people chased from their homeland,

denounces the artificial state of Israel as an instrument of Anglo-American imperialism in the heart of the Arab countries and amidst the peoples of the Middle East,

denounces the last machinations of American imperialism directed towards fooling the sincere belief of the peoples while assuring them without any base that it, together with the Arab peoples, can solve the problems of the Arab refugees,

denounces firmly the presence of American imperialism in the Middle East, a presence that has roused the anger of the entire Arab peoples because of its barbarous manipulation by setting up the "Asian Arabs" against the "African Arabs" to hamper their unity, which is the sole condition to constructing strong states.

DJAWOTO AS ENVOY TO CHINA

The Secretary-General of The Asian-African Journalists' Association, has been appointed by His Excellency President Sukarno as Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia in the People's Republic of China.

The Association feels proud of the fact that one of its members has been selected for the responsible task of representing his country abroad.

We extend to Mr. Djawoto our best and sincere wishes for a successful new career.

ASSOCIATION CELEBRATES 18th YEAR

The Secretariat of the AAJA sends its warmest congratulations to the Indonesian Journalists' Association (PWI), on the celebration of its 18th anniversary in February.

In February, last year, 14 sponsoring organisations of the Asian-African Journalists participated in the 17th anniversary celebration of the PWI, which coincided with the opening reception of the historic AAJA Preparatory Conference.

The PWI is facing a future that demands the fulfilling of its two heavy and noble tasks, namely, its national task to mobilise the revolutionary Indonesian people for the realisation of the ideals of socialism, and its regional and international task of continuing resolutely the struggle, together with the member-associations of the AAJA, to implement the ideals contained in the Djakarta Declaration and the AAJA Constitution, which are in line with the Ten Bandung Principles.

With its revolutionary members and leadership, we are convinced that the PWI will march onward militantly in the struggle for the implementation of its mission.

(continued from page 22)

revolutionary mass organisations in Indonesia. From his own explanation, it was very clear that the Front embraced in its fold all revolutionary groups, including, of course, communists, who are fighting against U.S. imperialism.

The first Asian-African Journalists' Conference in April, 1963, invited to its deliberations the colleagues from the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam, rejecting strongly at the same time the participation of "journalists" sent to Djakarta by Ngo Dinh Diem.

The imperialist press would, also, like to depict the struggle of the Buddhists in South Vietnam as only a struggle between Catholic Ngo Dinh Diem and the people of South Vietnam, who believe in Buddhism. But this, too, is not true. The resistance of the Buddhists against Ngo Dinh Diem regime is at the same time a hard blow directed at the occupation of South Vietnam by U.S. troops. Ngo Dinh Diem, without the United States propping him, meant nothing and would have been overthrown by the people long ago before his actual end.

President Sukarno has often said "even worms wriggle if stepped on". This was proved in South Vietnam. The Bubbhists, known for their great tolerance, had waged an admirably fierce resistance when their rights were trampled underfoot by the U.S. imperialism and Ngo Dinh Diem.

The repression of the Buddhists and the South Vietnamese people by Ngo Dinh Diem has assumed such an outrageously vicious and bestial character, that the U.S. imperialists felt it no longer possible to maintain further Ngo Dinh Diem's rule. A coup d'etat was then staged, in which Ngo Dinh Diem was murdered by the agents of his own master, the United States. The world press has unfolded this gruesome drama for all the public to see.

Will the situation in South Vietnam change now with the apopintment by the U.S. of Major General Nguyen Khanh as Prime Minister?

As we see it, to this day, the struggle of the South Vietnamese people is not primarily concentrated in seizing power from above. Their struggle was built up from the bottom by the people, using armed resistance as their means. The people of South Vietnam know Nguyen Khanh and they will never repose any trust in him. They are continuing their resolute struggle against the imperialists and their henchmen.

The downfall of Ngo Dinh Diem regime has demonstrated that the final defeat of U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries in South Vietnam is no longer avoidable. They will share the fate that had befallen the French colonialists, who were disgracefully compelled to leave Vietnam after their total defeat in the famous battle of Dien Bien Phu.

As in his historic address in August, 1959, which was later adopted as the Political Manifesto of the Republic of Indonesia, President Sukarno stated, imperialists are, after all, imperialists. They will never stop their brutalities in South Vietnam.

This is the reason why highest vigilance is needed by the entire New Emerging Forces in order to frustrate the manoeuvres of the imperialists. The solidarity of progressive journalists in Asia, Africa and the whole world is required to render moral and material support to their colleagues in South Vietnam. It is the bounden duty of the progressive journalists all the world over to help the South Vietnamese people until their struggle becomes victorious with the achievement of national independence, peaceful reunification of their homeland, democracy and peace.

Long live the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam!

Long live independent South Vietnam!!

Long live the patriotic journalists of South Vietnam!!!

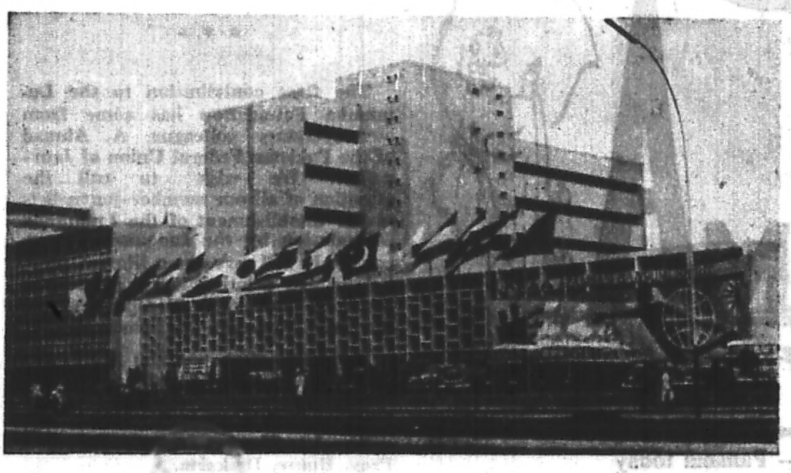
An International....

(continued from page 19)

people dream, for which your people strech out their hands. With your brains and your pens, with the strength of your faith and thoughts and words, you have become the vanguard of the crusade for a United Africa.

"We are all aware of this growing strength of unity after the historic conference at Addis Ababa.

"The Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian countries held in 1955 has greatly strengthened the solidarity between African and Asian peoples in their struggle against imperialism and colonialism. Therefore, I would like to suggest that we, journalists of Asia and Africa, should make an effort to promote the convening of the second conference of A-A countries, so as to accelerate the total liberation of our two continents.



This is Wisma Warta (Press House) which houses the headquarters of the A.A.J.A. Secretariat in Djakarta. It is a five-storeyed building and has up to date lodging facilities and a restaurant, exclusively for journalists, both local and foreign.

NEWS in BRIEF

Immediately after gaining independence the Kenyan Government, led by Jomo Kenyatta, established the Kenya News Agency, which will distribute news, both internal and external. We welcome this revolutionary step and wish the Kenya News Agency all success.

* * *

We congratulate our journalist brothers in Kenya and Zanzibar on the attainment of their independence. In telegrams of congratulations we expressed our firm belief that the independence of their two countries after years of struggle, colonial rule and exploitation, could only lead to further Afro-Asian solidarity.

* * *

The formation of the All-Zanzibar Journalists' Assocation and the publishing of the „People's Weekly" in Zanzibar is a move forward and another pillar in the struggle to introduce revolutionary journalism in Afro-Asia.

Congratulations and all support to our Zanzibar colleagues and their Vice-President, Rajab Saleh Salim.

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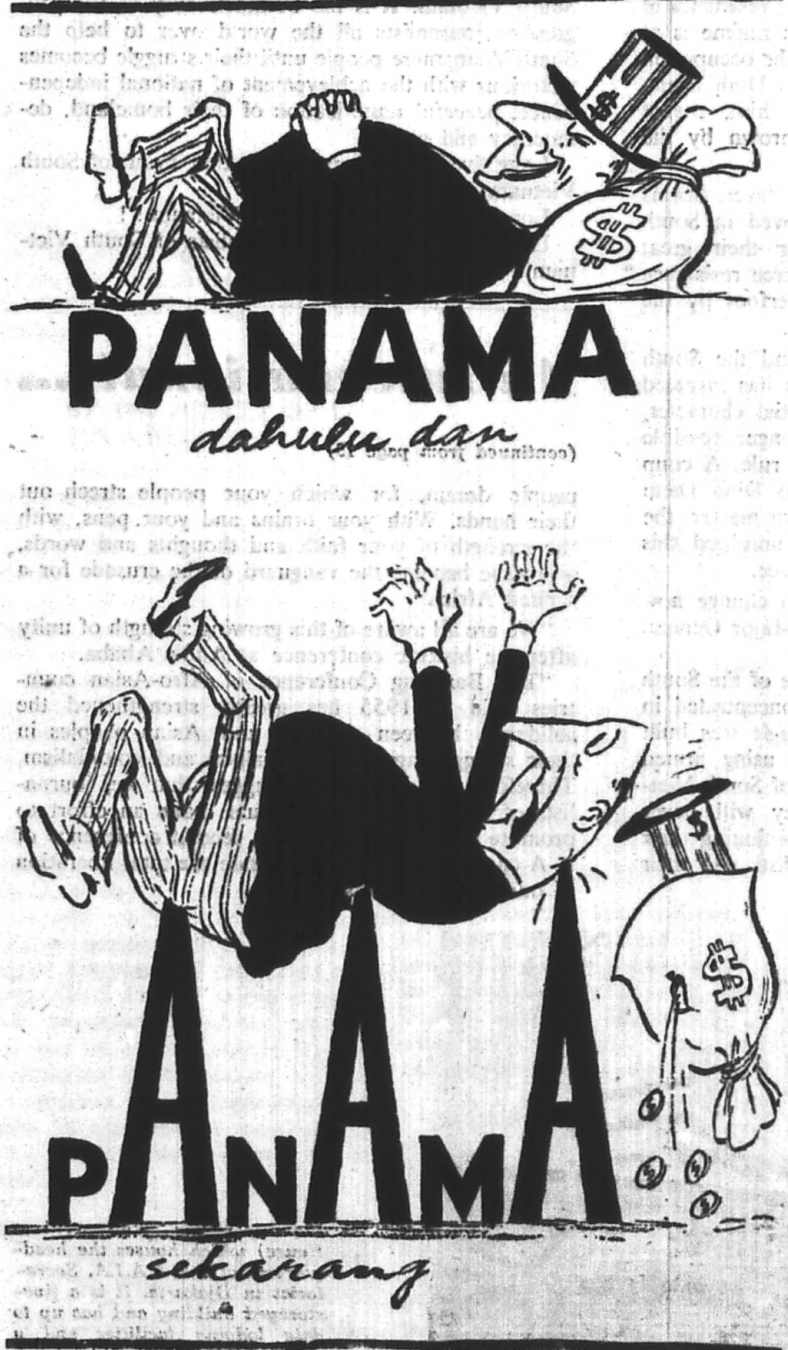

Panama yesterday — Panama today

On December 29th, 1963, a team of eight journalists from People's China, led by Chang Fan, jointly issued a statement in Djakarta with the Indonesian Journalists' Association, after concluding a fruitful three week tour of Indonesia at the invitation of the Indonesian Journalists.

The communique, which marked another step in closer Sino-Indonesian relations, inter-alia condemned the decision the USA to send their Seventh Fleet to the Indonesian waters and called for an end to American intervention in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. Both sides firmly supported the decisions and resolutions of the second AAJA Secretariat meeting and called for the further strengthening of Afro-Asian solidairity and the struggle for national independence.

* * *

For continuously interfering in the internal affairs of Cambodia, for maliciously slandering the Cambodian people and the Covernment, led by Prince Sihanouk and for attempting to bring pressure on the Cambodian peoples to alter their militant campaign against American neo-colonialism, the mouthpiece of big Yankee finance and monopoly capital, The New York Herald Tribune was banned from circulation in the whole of Cambodia.

The AAJA Secretariat in its telegram fully supporting the action of the Cambodian Covernment and people, categorically stated that the New York Herald Tribune alone was responsible for the ban, as it has been in the forefront in insulting and viciously attacking Afro-Asian States, their peoples and governments.

* * *

Another piece of cheap yellow journalism brought forth righteous indignant retorts from Kenyan Justice Mini ter, Tom Mboya, when he condemned the vicious and malicious NEWS WEEK article attacking Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta. We fully agree and support the remarks of Minister Mboya, and call for vigorous action against all those non-Afro-Asian newspapers that persist in attacking our leaders of States.

* * *

The first contribution to the Lumumba Foundation has come from our Secretary colleague, A. Ahmad of the Pakistan Federal Union of Journalists. We wish to call the attention of all our member-journalists to the establishment of the Lumumba Foundation by the Indonesian Journalists. It will serve as a library, publishing and printing house as well as research centre, for all aspects of the life of Afro-Asia in particular.

The Foundation and the Secretariat call upon all, the Afro-Asian journalists specially, to contribute to the Lumumba Fundation by sending the necessary material to The Lumumba Foundation, Pres; House, Djakarta.